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NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY

NATIONAL WAR COLLEGE

"TOWARDS A HYPHENATED NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY"

CORE COURSE ESSAY #3

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14 December 1998

Report Documentation Page				Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188	
Public reporting burden for the collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to a penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number.					
1. REPORT DATE 14 DEC 1998		2. REPORT TYPE		3. DATES COVERED 14-12-1998 to 14-12-1998	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE 'Towards a Hyphenated National Security Strategy'				5a. CONTRACT NUMBER	
				5b. GRANT NUMBER	
				5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER	
6. AUTHOR(S)				5d. PROJECT NUMBER	
				5e. TASK NUMBER	
				5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER	
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) National War College, 300 5th Avenue, Fort Lesley J. McNair, Washington, DC, 20319-6000				8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)				10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)	
				11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)	
12. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for public release; distribution unlimited					
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES					
14. ABSTRACT see report					
15. SUBJECT TERMS					
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT	18. NUMBER OF PAGES 11	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT unclassified	b. ABSTRACT unclassified	c. THIS PAGE unclassified			

TOWARDS A HYPHENATED NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY

INTRODUCTION

To what degree is the formulation of the United States National Security Strategy subject to the influence of “*hyphenated Americans*,” has the foreign policy of the U S already been influenced by ethnic factors, and will the influence of hyphenated Americans increase or diminish in the 21st century? To answer these questions and understand the implications for the United States the reader must understand several factors, including, the origins of the United States, the trends in immigration, recent advances in technology, and societal pressures for assimilation that have occurred since the nation’s founding

HISTORICAL OUTLOOK

The first British colony in the New World was established in Jamestown, Virginian, in April 1607 The diversity of the American Colony began to change almost immediately when in 1619, a Dutch ship sold twenty Africans to the colonists This was swiftly followed by the arrival in 1624 by the Dutch, 1660 by the Huguenots, 1680 by the French, 1683 by the Germans, and continually throughout the period by Welch, Scottish and Irish immigration to the New World By the 1700’s, when compared to other nations of the world, the Atlantic colonies were already considered as a whole to be “ethnically complex ” Yet, the Anglo-Americans that dominated the social, political and economic life of the colonies saw themselves as English and were determined to maintain this character Through a mixture of social pressures, intermarriage and the implementation of laws, the American “melting pot” was conceived, born and flourished By 1790, 75%

of the population could trace their ancestry to England, Scotland or Ulster, and the nation as a whole expressed their racial characteristics as “Anglo-American ” This view carried over into the Articles of Confederation and the first naturalization laws of the United States that provided citizenship to “free white persons ” For the next 200 years the American melting pot and political system ensured that Anglo-Americans maintained the foremost positions in all aspects of American society ¹

CURRENT IMMIGRATION AND SOCIETAL TRENDS

The United States today remains the most expansive pluralist society that has ever existed No other nation consists of as many diverse ethnic and nationalistic citizens, and the trend to diversity has only accelerated during the last 35 years

Between 1821 and 1960, 32,000,000 (76%) immigrants arrived from Europe For 140 years Europe was the major source of immigrant population growth for the United States However, since 1960, 18,000,000 (84%) immigrants have arrived from the Hispanic-Americas, Asia, Africa and Oceania ² By 1976, the United States was accepting twice as many immigrants as the rest of the world combined, and a majority were now coming from countries outside of Europe

The arrival of the new wave of immigrants has punched a hole in the established assimilationist theory Many arrivals, despite receiving an American education and acquiring over 30 years residency in the United States, have either remained or become

¹ Alexander DeConde, *Ethnicity, Race and American Foreign Policy*, (Northeastern University Press, 1992), 10

² U S Immigration and Naturalization Service, *Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service for 1994*, updated in 1995, <http://www.fairus.org/03002606.htm>

reinvolved in concerns over ancestral lands to a degree not previously experienced by the first European immigrants ³

THE RISE OF DIASPORA'S

“ *ethnic influences have become the single most important determinant of American foreign policy*”

*Congressman Daniel Patrick Moynihan, 1975*⁴

The term *diaspora*, as “opposed to ethnicity, emphasizes the commitment of recent immigrant groups to their countries of origin be it cultural, religious, racial, or national - with their ancestral lands or their dispersed kinfolk elsewhere”⁵

The rise and influence of diaspora in the U S has been assisted by several factors including, the fall of the Soviet Union as an immediate threat, the U S representative form of government, ethnic concentration of diaspora, technological advances, and multicultural acceptance within the U.S ⁶ The size and influence of new immigrant groups have been enlarged by many third and fourth generation Americans, many of whom have experienced a cultural renewal, the most well recognized being African-Americans Though African-Americans do not recognize a single country of origin, nevertheless, they have taken to heart the whole of Africa

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the demise of the old political paradigm of “us (Western Democracy) against them (Communist Bloc) bolstered diaspora political influence during the 1990's.” During the Cold War, most Americans were content to

³ Ibid , 155-158

⁴ Yossi Shain, “Ethnic Diaspora and U S Foreign Policy,” *Political Science Quarterly*, (Winter 1994) 1

⁵ Yossi Shain, “Multicultural Foreign Policy,” *Foreign Policy* Washington, (Fall 1995) 1-2

⁶ Ibid

permit foreign policy to be decided through undemocratic processes, hidden behind the closed doors of the power elite. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the monolithic communist block conspiracy, the old power/political elites have lost much of their relevance. Absent the threat of war in Europe or the armageddon of nuclear war, the walls separating domestic and foreign policy issues have come crumbling down, with the result that the United States' national interests have become clouded and incoherent.⁷ U.S. national interests, or at least U.S. national effort, is currently more likely to be exercised in crises similar to Bosnia, Somalia and Haiti, than in deterring the invasion of Western Europe or pursuing the containment of communism. The existence of the Soviet threat helped to restrain diaspora's that may have desired to be more politically active against their nation's "right wing dictator." Such a dictator may once have been regarded by the U.S. political/foreign policy establishment as a hedge against Soviet inspired wars of National Liberation. Absent the Soviet threat, the ills of many previous U.S. allies have been attacked by displaced expatriot citizens, human rights groups, a more liberal humanistic Congress and the American public. Diaspora groups that were once encouraged, as part of demonstrating political loyalty to their new country to abstain from activities that would adversely affect U.S. relations with their countries of origin, have during the 1990's moved to exert influence throughout the foreign policy process.⁸

The American politic is unique in granting its citizens access to every level of political action. Regardless of origin of birth, once a person gains citizenship, except for acquiring the Presidency, the U.S. liberal-democratic ethos grants full rights to access

⁷ Michael Clough, "Grass-roots Policymaking: Say Good-bye to the Wise Men," (Foreign Affairs, Jan/Feb 1994) 1-4

⁸ Yossi Shain, "Multicultural Foreign Policy", 2-4

and participation in the American political system. The American melting-pot culture after the 1960's and the establishment of the modern civil rights movement have continually given way to an enhanced cultural pluralism. The "hyphenation of American" as in African-American, Chinese-, Hispanic-, Polish-, Irish-, Serbian-, Mexican-, Cuban-, Jewish-, etc., permits citizens to maintain their customs and language without suspicion of disloyalty to the nation. Many political elites within ethnic communities have also discovered that not only maintaining, but also raising ethnic consciousness, enables the diaspora to better mobilize for both domestic and international issues affecting the community.

Ethnic concentration accentuates diaspora influence. For example, Asian-Americans comprise approximately three (3) percent of the U.S. population, but nearly 10 percent of southern California's population and upwards of 15 percent of the San Francisco Bay Area. Hispanic population figures provide even more striking data in that Hispanics account for only nine (9) percent of the U.S. population, but reflect roughly 33 percent of the population for Southern California and South Florida, and 25 percent of the population of the State of Texas.⁹ In view of the limited voter turnout experienced in many elections, a highly motivated electoral body committed to diaspora issues and managed by local ethnic elites have the ability to significantly influence the outcome of elections. Outside of an overriding threat to national security, a Congressman might be expected to display a pragmatic commitment to National Security concerns when dealing with future elections. While the President is charged with development and execution of

⁹ Michael Clough, "Grass-roots Policymaking: Say Good-bye to the Wise Men" 4

the national security strategy, both the Congress and the local political apparatus are concerned with the effects of the next election¹⁰

Technological advances, especially since the 1960's, have shrunk the distance between the community of man. Once the founding fathers of the United States attending the Constitutional Convention were required to travel for two weeks to cover the distance between the South and Philadelphia. But today commercial jets, telephones, television and the internet tie the world together into a *one-room affair*. Ethnic communities in the U S can on any given night, sit in their living rooms throughout the country and in succession see the carnage and chaos in Bosnia, Rwanda, Iraq, and Honduras. Events across the globe are no longer viewed as isolated and without relevance to the diaspora community¹¹

LIMITS ON DIASPORA INFLUENCE

The primary limiting factor constraining diaspora efforts in activities that either support or attack their country of origin is the perceived U S national interest, as expressed by the U S Government and public. Diaspora's must constantly evaluate the policies of the President and the laws proposed/enacted by the Congress and discern the general public's stance in constructing their own strategy for achieving their unique political objectives. Diaspora's must at a minimum "feign interest in what preoccupies the U S government and redefine their case to relate to those preoccupations"¹² When the Soviet Union began to experience the secession of member states (1990-1991) the

¹⁰ James M. Wall, "Toward a National Interest," (The Christian Century, Dec. 17, 1997) 2

¹¹ Michael Clough, "Grass-roots Policymaking: Say Good-bye to the Wise Men," 1-5

¹² Yossi Sham, "Ethnic Diaspora and U S Foreign Policy," 5-6

U S , except in the cases of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania which were considered occupied states, was hesitant to give support to the breakaway republics. In response, Eastern European diasporas modified their rhetoric espousing self-determination, and increased their rhetoric which emphasized the U S ' past moral commitment to support those nations that chose democracy, freedom and a market economy ¹³

THE ROAD TO SUCCESS

Diaspora groups exert a direct influence on foreign and domestic policy at all levels, from the President to the mayoral office in some of the U S ' largest cities. In a manner of speaking, diaspora are now institutionalized in the U S Congress through the formation of the Black Caucus in 1970 and the Congressional Hispanic Caucus in 1978 ¹⁴

Some examples of the influence that have been exerted by diaspora groups include

Presidential Influence During 1990-1991, Ukrainian-Americans lobbied the U S government for moral support and official recognition should the Ukraine leave the Soviet Union and establish an independent state. In August 1991, President Bush described the movement of the Ukraine to "break-away" from the Soviet Union as "suicidal nationalism", and stated that the U S would not recognize any secessionist states. However, by November 1991 and in a close race for reelection, President Bush changed U S policy, this shift was in part "motivated by President Bush's desire to score domestic points among the 1.5 million Ukrainian-Americans and other Eastern European diasporas .a voting bloc that was traditionally Democratic " ¹⁵

¹³ Yossi Sham, "Multicultural Foreign Policy," 1-2

¹⁴ Alexander DeConde, "Ethnicity, Race and American Foreign Policy " 160-178

¹⁵ Yossi Sham, "Ethnic Diaspora and U S Foreign Policy," 5

Congressional Influence Recognized as one of the most effective and widespread diaspora lobbying efforts was the passage of the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) which initiated a broad range of trade sanctions and other restrictions between South Africa and the U S ¹⁶ The "TransAfrica" diaspora which was formed in 1977, organized black support across the nation to push through foreign policy legislation The CAAA was passed over President Reagan's veto President Reagan had argued that passage of the CAAA was tantamount to providing support to the Communists, who were active in the African National Congress headed by Nelson Mandela Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole even acknowledged that the issue of sanctions against South Africa had become both a foreign policy and domestic civil rights issue of the highest importance ¹⁷

TRENDS AND CROSSROADS

According to current trends in immigration and the natural birth rate experienced by segments of the U S population, by 2050 Anglo/Caucasian-Americans are expected to lose their majority status in America The nation will then consist of a grouping of minorities each attempting to form coalitions and exert influence in support of their constituencies at the local and national levels with only limited regard to domestic or international borders

Since the trend to an even larger and more diverse pluralistic American society is evident, what might the outcome of diaspora growth and influence bode for U S national security interests? The answer is not yet clear and the time may still be too early, but

¹⁶ Yossi Sham, "Ethnic Diaspora and U S Foreign Policy," 11

¹⁷ Yossi Sham, "Multicultural Foreign Policy," 7

American may be approaching a crossroads in deciding how to cope with diaspora aspirations

However, already at this date, Michael Clough, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, has concluded that the growing number of ethnic groups, each articulating its own policy alternatives, "is at the core of Washington's failure to articulate a more coherent national interest"¹⁸ Competing interests could lead to a balkanization as indicated by events during 1990 in Miami, Florida, between African-American and Cuban-American diaspora On this occasion Cuban-Americans snubbed visiting South African leader Nelson Mandela over his embrace of Fidel Castro, as a result, African-American leaders declared a boycott by black groups of Miami's economy which resulted in approximately a \$50 million loss to the local economy¹⁹

However, James Zogby, President of the Arab American Institute, sees the inclusion of diasporas in the foreign policy process as having already contributed to the lowering of racial tensions within the U S Zogby and other Arab leaders in the U S were among the first to condemn the comments of Khalil Abdul Muhammad, an aide to Louis Farrakhan (Leader of the Nation of Islam), when he espoused profanities and anti-Semitic remarks Zogby and others believe the impact of diaspora influence has been overstated, but believes that these organizations will be important vehicles for entry into the political mainstream for groups that have been disenfranchised in the past²⁰

¹⁸ Yossi Sham, "Multicultural Foreign Policy," 3

¹⁹ Ibid

CONCLUSION

History presents some indications that diaspora activity has already affected issues involved in the National Security process. The identification of national interests themselves are being influenced by diaspora groups that only recently entered the political process for the first time as “full fledged players.” But while the ultimate effects of such political activity will be different on each and every issue, it is still relevant for the practitioner of the national security process to be aware of the growing importance and expanding resources of the emerging players. The U S receives, and may continue to receive, twice as many immigrants as other nations combined. This factor, when combined with birth projections leads to a reasonable conclusion that the effects of the diaspora influence on foreign and domestic policy have just begun to be felt and should accelerate in the 21st century.

²⁰ Yossi Sham, “Multicultural Foreign Policy,” 9-10